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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Boom Towns of Defense

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APRIL 1942

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE JOURNAL is published by The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., monthly from September to May, inclusive. Publication and business office, Room 51, 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y. Editorial office, New York University, Room 41, 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y. The subscription price is \$3.00 per year; the price of single copies is 35 cents. Orders for less than half a year will be charged at the single-copy rate.

Entered as second-class matter September 27, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The contents of previous issues of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY may be found by consulting the Education Index or the Public Affairs Information Service.

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. 15

APRIL 1942

No. 8

EDITORIAL

The articles in this issue represent an attempt to give a picture in both popular and technical terms of the problems faced by the communities in this nation, in which the impact of military and naval concentrations and of expanded defense industries is the most serious.

You will find here the story of the soldier town, reflecting the enthusiasm of a man who has tapped the tremendous resource of popular feeling for the boys in uniform. You will find the story of the powder-mill town, reflecting the disturbance of the responsible people in the community about what it is doing to them. You will find the great Federal city described where nearly two out of every three persons are related somehow to the war effort.

Here also is an intelligent analysis of how the community gradually organizes itself to meet the impact, with a disclosure of some of the long-time problems and relationships involved. Finally, you have here a description of how the Federal Government has tried to help with the physical facilities that are essential before you can start to do anything.

The articles are all different, written from completely different viewpoints and the editor has made no effort to smooth out viewpoints which may seem inconsistent or indicate the appropriate relationship. If the reader feels jerked about by reason of this, then

he will be experiencing exactly the feelings of the people who live in the towns, people brought in to work in them, and the responsible officials who are struggling to meet some of the most pressing problems. The very disjointedness of these articles reflects what the Nation is going through. Even such a picture will be of help in understanding and ultimately solving the problems.

CHARLES P. TAFT

Charles P. Taft is a lawyer who is interested in governmental and social questions. He has been a member of the City Council in Cincinnati for four years and is the author of *City Management, The Cincinnati Experiment*—1933; and *You and I and—Roosevelt*, 1936. He has been Assistant Director of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services in Washington, D. C., since February 1941.

EFFORTS AT COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

FRED K. HOEHLER

The first reaction of the typical American community to expanding defense activity was enthusiastic hopefulness that here, after the long parched years of the depression, was a new source of potential community income and therefore a worthy objective of promotional activity. Business leaders, chambers of commerce, service clubs, and other promotional groups banded together to send representatives to Washington to put before Army, Navy, and the old National Defense Advisory Commission authorities not only information regarding the natural suitability of their community for an army cantonment, naval base, or center of defense production but inducements in the way of free land, tax concessions, and utility services. The first community organization for defense was, typically, a combining of efforts of civic, commercial, and promotional groups under the leadership of the chamber of commerce, the mayor, or a prominent industrialist to secure for the town or region the economic benefits of defense contracts and pay rolls.

Thousands of communities were inevitably successful, either through natural economic or strategic advantage, social suitability, or their own promotional effort, in achieving their objective. Of these, several hundred received either defense contracts of such size in proportion to the normal industrial activity of the area, or military concentrations involving such large numbers of men, as to alter their entire social and economic character. In the first instance, initial jubilation over such cataclysmic success only gradually gave way to the sober second thought that a multimillion-dollar powder plant or defense industry could scarcely be manned exclusively by the local sons and daughters of a small town and that, therefore, a large influx of new workers and their families must be expected. The same initial jubilation, in the second instance, was replaced by recognition of the fact that many thousands of soldiers overrunning

a town whose total population in men, women, and children was considerably less meant something more than money in the cash registers of local merchants—it meant a change from the stable ways of the past that was little short of staggering.

Defense committees originally organized to secure these “benefits” were not equipped to deal with the problems that followed in their wake. The need for a new kind of community organization that could mobilize all social resources, both existing and potential, quickly emerged. This need has been met during the past year and a half only to a very limited extent and only in those communities where local leadership of unusual caliber was available, for while the need itself was generally recognized the difficulties have been such as to overwhelm the powers of organization in most of the towns affected. At the same time, Federal and State efforts to encourage this mobilization of local resources have, up to the present, been largely characterized by indecision, duplication, and a general gingerliness, which was perhaps inevitable in approaching during time of peace problems traditionally regarded as falling within local jurisdiction. What effect on this gingerliness the existence of a state of war will have is still too early to judge.

The general nature of the problems besetting defense boom towns is now fairly well understood not only by the towns themselves but by the country at large. They are the problems created by artificial and overrapid growth of population and aggravated by uncertainty as to the ultimate duration of the conditions creating that growth. Workers flocking to new jobs created by a defense industry in a boom town find that existing housing is not only swamped but that private enterprise is unwilling to risk investment in the construction of property which may well be empty of tenants as soon as the defense industry is made unnecessary at the end of the war. All community facilities, such as schools, playgrounds, hospitals, sewers, waterworks, and roads, are quickly overtaxed to a point endangering the health and well-being not only of the newcomers but also

of the older residents. At the same time tax receipts either do not reflect the changed status of the community quickly enough to support the enormous capital outlay involved in providing such facilities or, as in the case of a direct Federal activity like acquisition of a large maneuver area, are actually reduced by the withdrawal from the tax base of property purchased by the Federal Government for military purposes.

The financial difficulty of expanding the capital plant of the community to meet the needs of a growing population is, however, only a small part, if the more obvious part, of the boom community's problem. A way of life which seemed stable, if limited, in the pre-boom days is suddenly disrupted by a thousand factors of social change, some subtle, some blatant. Higher wages in war industries draw workers from the low-paid employment of field and kitchen, and labor is suddenly scarce rather than plentiful. Youngsters are tempted prematurely from the schoolroom. Girls and young women are subjected to a new kind and degree of temptation, both in terms of economic pressure and in terms of the flattery of disproportionate attention from the lonely males of Army camps and the defense industry. New and dubious forms of recreation suddenly appear, and vice and lawlessness baffle the limited experience of existing law-enforcement machinery. Newcomers are unaccustomed to the habits of the community and are hard to assimilate; conflicts and antagonisms between the old settlers and the new population inevitably develop. All the social institutions of the community—churches, social agencies, clubs, and public agencies for the maintenance of law and order, safety, health, welfare, and morale—are swamped by problems so far beyond the scope of their normal sphere of activity as to leave them bewildered and frantic.

Among the variety of reactions brought about by full realization of the extent of the community problems created by defense activity, one was automatic and virtually universal: "Let the federal government that lured these people here with new jobs give us the money

to meet their needs!" Soon a second wave of emissaries was dispatched to Washington, seeking funds for housing, sewers, roads, schools, hospitals, recreation buildings, waterworks, for more health officers, teachers, welfare workers, policemen, and firemen. Congress, impressed by the extent of the pressure and the real need it represented, enacted measures for housing and for the construction and operation of various needed facilities in defense areas. Gradually, as these measures take shape in actual construction, the pressure on that front tends to be relieved. Even though appropriations to date have been inadequate to meet the whole need, and even though the projected program of war production will create new boom towns, at least the pattern of relief has been established in the several defense housing and community facilities bills.

But the more baffling problem of community organization for social adjustment and reorientation remains largely unsolved. For a year and a half social planners, civic leaders, and community-minded people have been saying, "Something must be done"; but little progress has been made. What are the reasons? Why should it be difficult for a town confronted with overwhelming social problems to pull together all its resources, all its complexity of agencies, clubs, organizations, and other social groups, in a coördinated approach to solution? Of course, when defense activity is so located as to create artificially full-grown cities in areas hitherto wholly rural, it is too much to expect that either existing local social institutions or leadership would be adequate to cope with a degree of change which normally takes place over a period of decades or even centuries. Here the need obviously is for outside leadership. But even in those towns where the nucleus for a high degree of social organization and coöperation was well established prior to the growth occasioned by the new conditions, it must be frankly admitted that, with rare exceptions, the effective use of their resources has not yet been achieved.

Here, as in other lagging aspects of organization for the defense

and war effort, difficulties spring largely from a clinging to the false security of old forms and values which no longer serve the necessities of the present situation. Conflicts of points of view and jurisdiction, instead of being buried in preoccupation with a common objective, have in fact been aggravated by the strain to which rapid change subjects all social institutions. An agency, an organization, a pattern of social action or social relationship, which seemed fixed and valuable in terms of stable economic and social conditions, finds itself subject to the most rigorous testing of its adaptability and value under a situation of rapid change.

Instinctively those who have built their economic security and social status in confidence in the survival of the *status quo* look with alarm on the revolutionary change implicit in a war economy. This attitude applies to social agencies in boom towns as well as to business men, professional people, and those in other walks of life. Fundamentally the problem is the same. First reaction is likely to be resistance to the change and an effort to protect "existing values" at any cost. But war necessity, armed with a powerful social pressure that imposes at least an outward semblance of patriotic behavior, quickly drives that resistance into different channels. Here, under the guise of "rendering service," panicky fear of the effect of upheaval on a particular institution or interest seeks an inverted relief by securing a role of peculiar power and strategic importance within the framework of the new situation. Thus, for example (to take a case in the realm of production, much publicized by a recent Senate investigating committee), when the aluminum trust could no longer avoid facing the unwelcome fact that the safety of America depended upon an expansion of the hitherto artificially limited production of aluminum, it sought to bring about that expansion in such a way as to assure its own monopolistic control of the industry both during and after the war.

Persons engaged in various forms of community service, both public and private, like to think that they are immune from such

maneuvering as this. But they, too, find it difficult to act entirely in the public interest without regard to the advantage of their particular institution. Theirs is an effort to protect status, power, and, above all, to perpetuate a type of "service" which may, in fact, no longer serve actual community needs. Their own resistance to change they have sugar-coated in moralistic terms which vest in their own particular institution or interest all the essential attributes of democracy. It is a form of resistance to which all professions, occupations, community agencies, and governmental groups have been susceptible to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the degree of their sense of security. Of the specific fears and conflicts that have impeded efforts to mobilize community resources to meet defense and war-created social readjustment, some deserve analysis here.

Community services, facilities, and devices of social organization are normally provided either by public agencies of local government or by private agencies, locally financed and locally governed. The principle of local autonomy in matters affecting community services and problems is one of the jealously guarded components of the American tradition; and even though the reality has been modified in recent years under the strain of economic conditions with which only State and Federal resources were adequate to cope still the ideal persists. However, conditions that create a defense or wartime boom town are largely Federal in their origin, and the Federal Government has a fundamental stake in the solution of the problems they create. Not only is the location and size of a naval base, Army training center, or other military installation strictly the responsibility of the War and Navy Departments, but the strategic location of new and expanded war-production plants, federally financed, is also largely a matter for Federal determination.

Once the location of a military or war-production center is determined, the provision of suitable community facilities and services becomes a major factor in its successful operation and, as such,

a matter of great moment to the responsible Federal agencies. Necessary labor to man a defense plant can be neither recruited nor retained if the housing, schools, hospitals, community services, and social environment necessary to a wholesome family life are not available. Military authorities recognize the importance to soldier morale of a friendly community with decent and acceptable recreational opportunities under civilian auspices, both commercial and civic; they recognize the ravages which unrepressed conditions of prostitution and venereal disease can create in a military force.

The clash between this Federal interest and local jurisdiction, jealously guarded with the deeply ingrained American distrust of central authority, has been the first and most fundamental barrier to the expeditious and effective mobilizing of resources to meet the needs of people coming to the new boom towns. This has been particularly true in the area of organization. Financial problems growing out of the need for expanded capital plant have been met in part by the grant or loan of Federal funds for the construction and operation of essential local facilities; but such funds have been made available with virtually no strings attached—as is evidenced by the fact that in the highly controversial field of education, for example, no voice has been raised to accuse the Federal Government of an effort to dictate educational policy through funds made available for the operation of schools in defense areas. Similarly, Federal funds for defense housing have been administered in such a way as to exercise a minimum of influence on local social institutions or community organization. The unyielding resistance in Congress and elsewhere to the use of the Federal agency best equipped by experience and organization to develop a housing program that would favorably influence local social institutions (that is, the United States Housing Authority and coöperating local authorities) is further evidence of the extreme caution exercised to prevent the use of Federal funds expended on capital plant from disturbing the traditional autonomy in community affairs.

Nevertheless, certain steps have been taken by various agencies of the Federal Government during the past two years to encourage community organization as a part of the defense program. These efforts, however, have emanated from different agencies and have therefore been uncoordinated, vacillating, contradictory, and temporary to the same extent that the central management of the defense effort has, up until recently, been characterized by the same weaknesses.

On August 2, 1940, the National Defense Advisory Commission, then the central coordinating agency of the defense program, recognized in an official memorandum the fact that the impact of defense policies necessarily affected areas of life falling within the jurisdiction of State and local authorities and that, moreover, the solution of the problem created by that impact would require the fullest utilization of all resources, not only governmental but also private. In order to provide for the stimulation of organization to achieve these ends, the NDAC created a Division of State and Local Cooperation and transmitted to the governors suggestions relating to the organization of State councils of defense to coordinate State activities related to defense. Very tentatively it suggested to the governors the possible desirability of carrying the defense council form of organization down to the local level.

The plan of State organization recommended to the governors had much merit. It stressed the importance of relying largely on established State agencies and of restricting the council machinery to coordination and clearance. It outlined six functional areas that were sufficiently broad in scope to embrace the great bulk of community problems actually arising. These areas were (1) agricultural resources and production, (2) civil protection, (3) health, welfare, and consumer interest, (4) housing, works, and facilities, (5) human resources and skills, and (6) industrial resources and production. Despite the merits of the plan, it must be recognized in the light of the still confused defense-community picture that the effort

of the Division of State and Local Cooperation to meet community problems through the organization of State defense councils fell something short of complete success. In the first place, many governors had already organized defense councils which bore little resemblance to the organizational and functional pattern suggested by the NDAC. Many of these councils, indeed, were conceived primarily in terms of the first drive to secure defense contracts rather than in terms of the problems that followed. Others were citizen bodies bearing little or no relationship to the functions of State government. Still others were dominated by strictly military considerations, functioning under the leadership of the Adjutant General, and did not conceive of their sphere as extending to problems of a social character. Moreover, the fact that the organization proposed by the NDAC was put forward in the extremely tentative form of "suggestions" and was not backed up by pressure and persuasion tended to discourage governors from modifying the form of their original defense councils.

But a far more serious weakness from the point of view of the problems confronting defense boom towns was the Federal tendency to restrict its relationships to the State level and to assume that governors and State agencies would take the initiative in dealing with local problems and local organization. This was perhaps a logical position, but it failed to take into account the growing practice—followed, for example, by WPA and PWA procedures—of local authorities to deal directly with the Federal Government, and, conversely, of Federal agencies operating in fields closely related to community problems to short-circuit State clearance machinery. Since comprehensive and effective organization for coordination existed at none of the three levels of government, Federal officials, all operating in their own functional fields, approached local agencies in such numbers and with so little relationship to an over-all community plan as to prove an embarrassment, rather than an aid, to harassed local officials.

A few States were able to develop a satisfactory plan of relationship between State and local defense machinery, and it is possible that others would have done the same had not the transfer of responsibility for State and local relationships from the NDAC to the Office of Civilian Defense resulted in a sudden shift in emphasis from State to local responsibility, which has tended to increase rather than lessen the confusion. Old policies and staffs were largely abandoned rather than adapted to the new philosophy of operation; the governors' responsibilities were not clarified; and a workable, comprehensive plan of organization at the local level has yet to be developed.

The OCD is still in the process of working out its somewhat vague and therefore difficult-to-administer functions. In general they fall within the rather indeterminate outlines of civilian protection and civilian participation in the war effort. Aside from the fundamental difficulties of its organizational task—which is somehow to create an integrated, comprehensive, nationwide machinery for relating civilians to the war without interfering with the normal functioning and relationships of the regular institutions of government and social organization—the difficulties of the OCD seem to grow largely out of an inherent conflict between the nature of its two functions. This conflict is, essentially, between the professional and amateur approach. That is, while one part of the OCD is concerned with the semimilitary problem, needing highly professional skill, of how to minimize the dangers to civilians from enemy attack, the other part is concerned with giving the average citizen, not directly contributing to the war effort as soldier or defense worker, the sense of doing his part in the struggle. Inevitably, the effort to mix this latter subjective goal with a goal of functional efficiency creates confusion and contributes to the injury of attempts to reach both goals. To take a case recently in the public print, the morale of women who have in all good faith been spending much energy in knitting for soldiers and sailors at the behest of certain morale-building agencies

is obviously not improved by the knowledge that this activity has in actual fact created problems for the Army and Navy in securing wool necessary for the basic outfitting of their expanding personnel.

Confusion resulting from this duality of objective has been another factor delaying community organization at the local level. Those who see the solution of community problems primarily in terms of an outlet for citizen participation have naturally favored one type of community organization, while those who see it primarily in terms of problems requiring professional solution have favored another. However, aside from its effect in delaying over-all local organization, the conflict is more serious in the area of emergency civilian protection than in the strengthening of normal community services. The plan worked out by the OCD for volunteer participation in the regular community agencies under professional supervision is excellent evidence that the professional approach does not preclude citizen participation. On the other hand, the plan fails in any real measure to satisfy a vigorous and laudable craving on the part of millions of citizens to "do something about the war." By its very nature this craving can only be satisfied in the hard and disciplined tasks of field and bench, not in artificially created tasks better performed by other means. However, since the problem of citizen participation will be lost in the far more overwhelming problems of man power when the war program reaches the point where military service and war production fully utilize the capacities of all the people, it should not be a major determining factor in present organizational efforts.

The third conflict which affected efforts to mobilize community resources is that which exists between various agencies of community service, especially between those which are regular arms of government and those which are voluntary both in management and financing. The magnitude of the problems to be solved makes the necessity for public leadership and responsibility imperative—a fact found true in meeting the hazards and disaster of the depression,

and now a thousand times more true in the face of the dangers and upheaval of war. England found it to be so in her hour of trial; this country will find it likewise.

Nevertheless, at the present time the pressure for citizen participation has put new drive behind the voluntary agencies and organizations, and the absence of effective public organizational leadership or financing has encouraged private groups in the assumption of responsibilities beyond their ability to fulfill. Furthermore, the inability of either public or private local groups to solve the problems at hand has caused national private agencies, likewise, to undertake responsibilities which must ultimately rest on the broader resources of public authority and public funds.

Community organization in war-created boom towns can never be wholly successful until this public responsibility is shouldered and until the Federal Government frankly assumes a role of active and consistent leadership. This leadership should be through the normal services of government in so far as possible; and it should not mean Federal dictation but leadership in the most difficult and most fundamental sense. Such a leadership presupposes an understanding of the relative responsibilities of Federal, State, and local governments and the development of machinery at the local level through which all war-related programs in a community—whether Federal, State, or nongovernmental—can be synthesized into a reasonable and comprehensive whole. The State and the community must have guidance in the creation of machinery that can utilize all available resources, and this guidance must come from a source that clearly has no stake in promoting the power or prestige of one community agency to the detriment of another. Furthermore, this guidance must recognize the public character of certain community services, both long time and emergency, and protect and strengthen the professional excellence and effective functioning of the agencies performing them. Likewise must it recognize the essential importance in a functioning democracy of citizen participation, both

through the inclusion of representative citizens in the councils considering policies affecting community matters and through the participation in community defense activity of citizen organizations, whether social, civic, political, professional, labor, religious, or philanthropic. Through such leadership community services could be built to meet the needs of the people, without discrimination, and to enlist, in the process of their own provision, every one capable of contributing to them.

Leadership of this sort requires a new kind of talent in public service for which no job description or personnel specification can be easily written. It requires a degree of organizational ability in its directing heads together with a capacity for tactful persuasion and coöperative planning with other agencies rarely found in ordinary mortals.

This, however, is no ordinary war. It makes demands on soldiers, workers, and management never before preceded. If democracy is to survive, it must demonstrate its ability to match the ruthless efficiency of fascist dictatorship not only with fighting power in the field of battle but with genius in the realm of social organization.

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THE POWDER-MILL TOWN

LOULA FRIEND DUNN

CHILDERSBURG, A COMPLACENT COMMUNITY

Until December 1940 Childersburg's five hundred inhabitants were indifferent to the outsiders who drove on the Birmingham-Florida highway within a quarter mile of the village or who rode the streamlined trains which passed through the town daily between northern cities and southern resorts. Its citizens had no interest in these travelers and, likewise, the passers-by were scarcely aware of the little community's existence.

In its self-sufficiency, however, Childersburg was neither outstanding nor peculiar, but was typical of thousands of small towns scattered over the length and breadth of the Nation. Its chief claim to fame was the monument stating that "Two miles north of this spot the Indian town of Cosa was visited by DeSoto, July 10, 1540."

The residents of the locality were content with their way of living and felt no decided hardships because their village lacked a bank, a hotel, and a motion-picture theater. Neither did they have any objection to the mayor's operating a drugstore, as well as doing official town business. After all, the responsibilities attached to this position could be handled satisfactorily from headquarters at the drugstore, supplemented by occasional visits to the Town Hall.

It was, in fact, around the stove in the Town Hall that most of the local transactions were weighed, discussed, and finally brought to completion. This small one-room brick building, erected about sixty years ago as a saloon and converted for public use when prohibition became local law in the early 1900's, also housed the Chamber of Commerce and the presiding justice of the peace, served as police headquarters, and had space in the rear for the two cells which comprised the town's jail. Thus the Town Hall was realistically the center of government in the village.

The residents expected to remain there. They were, for the most

part, farmers or tradesmen whose fathers and grandfathers had made their homes in the community. Vacant houses were unheard of, because new people seldom came to Childersburg, and no new residences were likely to be needed. At least, no demand for them was anticipated prior to the time the Government announced that it would spend approximately eighty million dollars on a powder plant just outside the town limits.

It was then that war came to Childersburg. If there had been no program of national defense to prepare for the present conflict, the village might still be aware only from its youth who entered the armed forces and from newspaper headlines and radio programs that the United States was an active participant in the war. Instead, the whole complexion of the town became colored by the world emergency as early as December 1940.

CHILDERSBURG THE CHOSEN

The citizens were electrified by the news. They were somewhat surprised, too, to learn that adequate rail facilities, water supply, and available labor were among the more important factors responsible for selection of the plant site. Cries of "boom town," "ghost town," and "beware of speculators" were heard on all sides, while predictions of prosperity were equaled by those of dire distress.

The entire aspect of the village was completely altered by the time the news became public knowledge. The unpaved streets were jammed with cars, obviously those of nonresidents. Real-estate signs appeared on every hand, with remodeling and building going on in all quarters. The citizens were scarcely aware, however, that an era had passed. Childersburg was no longer Childersburg.

Although residents could not immediately change their attitudes and their way of life, they gradually began to realize they could not retain their former customs or their old serenity. Accommodations were being put into shape for boarding and lodging the newcomers who were already flooding the town, even though the boundaries

for the project had not yet been surveyed. The old-timers, consequently, could not ignore what was happening around them, because it had made them residents of a nationally important industrial area instead of citizens of a quiet village, important only unto itself. The community was no more unwilling than any similar community would have been to accept the inevitable, but such drastic transformation is not without its difficulties.

Since these difficulties were due to the National Government's reaching into the village and naming it a defense center, that Government, in making the choice, obligated itself to help provide much needed community facilities. "Our resources are inadequate and the emergency is serious," the mayor wired the governor soon after the plant location was chosen. And, although a willingness to help was indicated, the assistance furnished was all part of a gigantic learning process and so was not instantly useful. Perhaps the most glaring need at the outset, therefore, was that of planning at local, State, and Federal levels. The newness of the defense boom towns, as well as the problems they present, quickly emphasized the importance of joint, premeditated endeavor under national leadership.

MAKING ROOM FOR CONSTRUCTION

The initial delays on the powder-plant project (Alabama Ordnance Works) occurred in surveying its exact location. Original reports indicated that 27,000 acres would be occupied instead of the 13,500 in the site which was finally selected four miles north of Childersburg. As a result of this confusion, a number of families moved unnecessarily.

Living on the reservation actually designated were 210 families, a majority of whom were tenant farmers and sharecroppers. The few landowners, in general, had only small holdings. Farm Security Administration was assigned responsibility to assist these families in making new living arrangements. The agency issued grants, when needed, to help people move and established several projects for

those who wished to settle on them. A good many took advantage of this opportunity, a few moved to near-by counties, and a small number made independent arrangements. Usually one person from these family groups secured work at the powder plant, while others abandoned farming temporarily to obtain industrial jobs.

Thus, Farm Security, in relocating persons forced to find new homes, furnished to the area its first Federal aid.

CHILDERSBURG, THE POWDER-MILL TOWN

In the change from the hamlet of yesterday to the powder-mill town of today there was a brief transition period which lasted from the time the plant site was selected until the first workers began to pour on to the reservation. Dazed residents and avid speculators made frantic attempts to capitalize on this interval by building bunkhouses and erecting new buildings, airing spare rooms and renovating servants' quarters, but the brevity of time and the general confusion prevented any constructive planning. The influx of workmen far outstripped the provision of living space for them. There were no blueprints for local officials to follow in getting ready for the problems to come, and the "boom" was actually upon the town within less than a month. Though construction was not started that soon, skilled and unskilled laborers, singly and with their wives and children, joined the trek to Childersburg so as to be on hand when jobs were assigned. They came on foot, by train, bus, and car, some with money and some without, and they brought with them their problems.

Thus, individual and collective difficulties have combined to make it hard for Childersburg to cope with the problems which have arisen within its borders. The time shortage has magnified the complexities facing the village and the lack of coördinated effort by national, State, and local authorities has been another factor.

Overpopulation. All of Childersburg's problems stem from its major complaint—overpopulation. No single facility, regardless of

how entirely satisfactory it was for five hundred people, could, without decided expansion, accommodate several thousand persons. This powder-mill town, therefore, found itself deluged with workers and job seekers, promoters and "followers," none of whom had been taken into consideration when the various local businesses and public services were set up.

The people who have come there represent every State and four foreign countries. Many are veterans of construction jobs, having followed them all over the United States. They usually bring their families, make the best of whatever conditions they find, and expect to move on to the next job when their special skill is no longer needed. Their wages are high and they usually are able to shift for themselves.

In contrast to this group are the unskilled laborers who rent bunk-house rooms and get whatever jobs they can hold. They are likely to roam the streets at night, for as a rule they have no immediate relatives or have left them "back home." Other unskilled and semi-skilled workmen commute from near-by areas and consider their work at the plant as being of the "stopgap" variety.

Still another group of newcomers includes the DuPont, Army, and Government officials who, because they are able to pay higher rentals, frequently secure living quarters in the larger cities near by.

At present—February 1942—the peak of construction, with 21,000 employed, has passed. Now approximately 19,000 persons are working at the Ordnance Works, where authorized expenditure to date totals more than \$109,000,000.

Though the date on which operation will begin cannot be announced, it is expected to be sometime this spring. Then a new type of migrant will come to Childersburg—the plant operator. He will be young, have at least a high-school diploma and preferably two years in college, and must be at least semiskilled. Persons trained at other ordnance plants run by the DuPont Company will teach the new operators, of whom at least 7,000 will be required to man the

powder plant. Construction on the TNT plant will not be finished for many months, necessitating an overlapping of both types of workers in the area.

The crowding affects residents and nonresidents alike. Family dislocations occur in as great a degree where the father, mother, and four children have moved into the kitchen and rented the whole house to newcomers as they do when an entire family group is forced to eat and sleep in a tent, a trailer, or a former chicken house. Similarly, the mud and dust, the clogged streets, and the skyrocketing prices do not discriminate between old settlers and strangers.

Housing. Thus, it is the lack of adequate housing facilities which is Childersburg's most conspicuously urgent need. Living space is at a premium not only within the town itself, but also for miles on all sides of it. Trailer camps line the highways in every direction and occupy most of the empty lots within the village. These trailer camps, however, are not the picturesque tourist courts frequently provided for the overnight traveler or vacationist. Instead, they are bare tracts of ground on which are jammed as many trailers as can park in the space occupied. Frequently a single building in the better equipped camps provides sanitary facilities and from it occupants of the trailers must carry water in any container they happen to have.

Other makeshift living arrangements in the vicinity include bunkhouses, tent camps, and groups of cabins in clearings under the trees. Town regulations require an individual to pay a trailer-camp license if he allows as many as two trailers to park on his premises. For one, however, there is no fee. As a consequence, many homes in Childersburg with a few square feet of yard have trailers parked there. Woodsheds, barns, and garages have been converted into livable shelters and rented for fabulous prices. "Rooms," "Rooms and Board," "Meals," and like signs appear on numerous front porches, because nobody wants to be left out of the windfall.

Although the absence of housing facilities for the incoming thou-

sands was the most quickly recognized need in the community, no immediate aid was secured. Application was made early for a defense housing project, but work on the first 100 units was not started until the fall of 1941. Close to completion in January of this year, the houses remain unoccupied because they are reserved for families of plant operators expected in the next few months. Announcement was made late in January that 200 more houses will be built to provide homes for the relatively "permanent" personnel, but these, too, will be barred to construction workers. Thus, while this greatly needed Federal aid will partially alleviate the housing shortage, many transients and their families will be forced to continue their makeshift arrangements as long as they remain in the vicinity.

It is consequently apparent that the difficulties faced by Childersburg in the matter of housing have been complicated by the slowness of Federal aid and by the absence of any provision for the construction workers. More than a year has elapsed since certain needs became known and no assurance is yet given that twelve months from now conditions will be greatly improved. A community incapable of acting unassisted is thus placed in an even more precarious position by delayed and limited action by Federal agencies.

Health and sanitation. Like congested housing, health hazards are a corollary to overpopulation. In and near Childersburg, the mosquitoes and the dust in summer, the mud and the chill of drafty shacks and lean-to shelters in winter, combine to produce manifold health dangers. These are multiplied because of the inadequate water and sewerage system designed to serve a maximum of 900 people instead of the 6,000 now living within the town limits.

Application for a water and sewage project under the Community Facilities bill was filed January 23, 1941, but numerous delays prevented work from starting until January 26, 1942. The insufficient supply of water also produces a serious threat in case of fire among the town's flimsy, frame structures, especially since a single hose and a volunteer organization comprise the total equipment.

The lack of water, likewise, has hampered adherence to sanitary regulations. Recognizing the need for control of health conditions in trailer camps, the State Health Department, early in 1941, issued rules governing their construction and maintenance. Strict enforcement of these provisions has proved difficult, however, because of the shifting population, insufficient personnel, and the many adjustments necessary when a rural area becomes a defense center.

All of these potential dangers to health and safety are magnified in the light of the inadequate facilities for care of the sick. One physician whose time was well filled in looking after the town's original residents is now swamped with work, but only one new doctor has moved to the locality. The nearest hospital, eleven miles away, is hardly large enough for the increased population of Sylacauga and has little space for patients from Childersburg. A greatly needed clinic for this village was recently approved under the provisions of the Lanham Act but it will have no bed space.

The Alabama Ordnance Works maintains an excellent clinic and a small hospital for plant employees. They are cared for while at work and if injured on the job, but no provision is made for follow-up on those sent home because of illness, nor is anything done for their families. Since absenteeism cannot be effectively controlled unless health and sanitary facilities are provided for workers and their wives and children as well, the absence of sufficient doctors, clinics, and hospital beds may prove a serious bottleneck in the rapid production of munitions.

Traffic and law enforcement. Almost as serious a peril to individual health and safety as the lack of hospitals and water supply is the traffic through which plant employees must travel to get to work. Commuters from Birmingham go via the 39-mile "suicide strip" where the accident rate is mounting daily. The inauguration of a shuttle train between the city and the plant, as well as operation of numerous buses, has reduced the number of cars at the ordnance parking lots to about 9,000 a day. Cars pass the intersection

of the access road and the highway at the rate of one every seven seconds throughout the twenty-four hours, however, and there is bumper-to-bumper traffic whenever shifts change. Four State highway patrolmen in cars have been assigned full time to Childersburg while six more on motorcycles handle the flow of traffic out of Birmingham. Two additional patrolmen work out of near-by Sylacauga. Numerous arrests have been made, but the rush hours continue to be perilous. Another cause of congestion is the large amount of through traffic on the main highway, which has not been widened to care for the increased pressure. No relief is foreseen for the present traffic dangers until construction work is completed at the plant and more houses are provided in the immediate vicinity for employees.

Though assigned full police powers, the highway patrolmen are primarily concerned with the maintenance of safety on the public roads. Since the patrol does not work regularly within city or town limits, law enforcement and traffic regulation inside Childersburg are the responsibility of local authorities. The one-man force has been increased to four, but, since it lacks an automobile, its work is largely confined to a small area within walking distance of the Town Hall. Despite a growing awareness of the change in community life, there is still only a limited follow-up on calls which come from a distance, and first allegiance is paid to old residents.

Child welfare and education. The upheavals in Childersburg are coloring the lives of the children who have always lived there, as well as those of the transient workers. These children may be unable to grasp the full meaning of what is going on around them but they are adversely affected by the general restlessness and anxiety among the adults. Likewise, they suffer from improper food, wretched housing, little medical care, and the absence of community facilities for health, education, and recreation.

The local school in 1940-1941 had 13 teachers for its enrollment of 470, most of whom were brought in from the country in buses. The 1941-1942 session opened with more than 900 children, each

teacher having from 78 to 96 in a room. Applications for Federal aid brought allocation of funds for maintenance and approval of a new ten-room building and a four-room addition to the present structure. To date, however, the new building and annex have not materialized and the only extra space secured is the six rooms acquired by partitioning the auditorium. Twenty-four teachers are now employed, many of them wives of defense workers. Only four of last year's faculty are now on the staff, and new teachers are forced to commute from Birmingham. The married teachers accompany their husbands when the latter go elsewhere to work, and, for this reason, some of the children have already had as many as four different teachers during the present school term.

A similar turnover is reflected among the pupils. Eighty per cent of the new students brought no school records with them for they have continuously lived from place to place, while already this session approximately one hundred children have withdrawn because their families are again on the move, following the trail of defense employment.

Obviously, schooling under such conditions fosters truancy. One attendance officer must serve the entire county—an area in which every school is overpopulated by the influx of defense workers. (Another large defense project is being built in the northern part of the county.) Children, especially if both parents are working, frequently obtain undesirable jobs or become delinquent, because the necessary supervision is impossible.

Among the teen-age girls who are coming into Childersburg, lured by the excitement of a boom town or by the hope of employment, many have secured work as waitresses at wages unprecedented in relation to their former economic status. These girls, with average earnings of \$8.00 a week, pay disproportionately large amounts to live in cluttered rooming houses with no provision for their leisure hours. All too frequently they begin to prefer the adventures offered by questionable commercial forms of entertainment, and sometimes

drift into prostitution. Decent, low-cost housing for these girls, wholesome, satisfying recreation, and some essential supervision would go far toward making it possible for them to earn an honest wage and toward redirecting their free time. A special community worker on a protective child-welfare assignment is examining this problem closely and has recommended that aid be given to the town for building up the resources that are lacking. To date, however, no steps have been taken to provide a recreational or housing center.

Recreation. That the need for recreational opportunities is not confined to teen-age girls, however, is apparent even to the most casual visitor. Men aimlessly roam the streets in the summer dust and now plod listlessly through them in the winter mud. They visit the post office and return to their rooms unless they patronize some of the commercial recreational spots which thrive with little regulation in the midst of town and along the highways. There are shooting galleries, one motion-picture theater, "juke joints," and taxi dance halls. On Fridays—payday at the plant—business booms in every quarter while blind guitar players, itinerant beggars, and promoters of various patent remedies join the throngs on the narrow streets.

Work Projects Administration last year organized a recreational program which included a playground and small library. It has been difficult, however, to secure strong leaders from certified personnel and to obtain the necessary equipment. With no auditorium except that of an adjoining church, the program has met with only limited success.

Recognition of the need for recreational outlets led to erection (under the Lanham Act provisions) of a community center to be operated by United Service Organizations. This well-equipped building, manned by a trained staff, is expected to be a definite asset to the entire area. The delays in opening, caused by numerous unexpected difficulties, consequently produced keen disappointment among both local people and newcomers.

CHILDERSBURG TODAY AND TOMORROW

From this account of its rapid and lopsided growth, it is evident that an accurate picture of Childersburg today is dark and uninviting. Overpopulation, improper and substandard housing, inadequate health, educational, and recreational facilities, coupled with attendant social and economic problems, combine to present a dreary outlook. A once scenically beautiful highway has been transformed into a conglomeration of "juke joints," unsightly trailer camps, paintless bunkhouses, and clusters of tents and shanties. "Gus's Place" completely overshadows the monument to DeSoto's visit.

As Childersburg moves into 1942 with many construction workers moving on to other projects, with a gradual unraveling of the machinery by which Federal aid comes to a defense boom town, and with a growing acceptance that it will never again be a contented village, the town is completing its transition to a new kind of life.

Does this mean that Childersburg is to become a casualty of the war, or can it be made into a happy American community? As a powder-mill town helping to win this war, it must fight a battle to save its own soul in order that it may again be a place where people—though busier than they were before—can live in peace. Childersburg, cannot, however, find its peace alone. So far, what has been done is only a beginning. Other much needed assistance would incorporate in planning a four-lane highway, additional housing developments, public park facilities, and further provision for health, welfare, education, and sanitation. The community is accepting its new conditions of life despite the mayor's statement that "We prayed for this thing and now we are praying for forgiveness."

The town cannot, however, provide a healthy and orderly kind of community life which can produce the powder that is our Nation's necessity except as the community can feel the friendly hand of its Government reaching in through the network of wartime services and duly constituted national agencies to underpin these facilities.

The victory to be gained depends both on the need to construct and man powder-mill towns and on the recognition that there must be decent community life in these defense areas. Workers and their families must be assured that what they do is as important to the winning of this war as planning for the armed forces. They must know, too, that their Government is equally as interested in the community life afforded them as it is in the morale of the military services.

In this defense community, gaps, inadequacies, and confusion still exist, but, as the town has changed its initial tempo, so the Federal and State agencies of government have indicated certain ways they can and will help. These interests and resources must now be brought closer together in order that the town's basic needs can be met. As the Nation's war production is speeded up and the demands upon the civilian population are increased, every safeguard must be extended to these defense workers, in order that victory may be assured in the powder-mill villages, as well as on the battle front.

These villages must be safe and good places in which to live both today and tomorrow when the critical emergency has passed. Childersburg is now a powder-mill town and not a sleepy agricultural center. It must adjust to a new era of living and the newcomers must become a part of the community, and not apart from the community. All this will take time and the coöperation of local, State, and Federal authorities. Coördinated planning must follow, but courage, resourcefulness, and unity of purpose give promise that present conditions will give way to well-rounded community life and preserve individual freedom in keeping with our democratic American traditions.

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HAMPTON ROADS—A BOOM AREA

LORIN A. THOMPSON¹

The purpose of this paper is to examine the more important changes in the characteristics of the population in the Hampton Roads area which have occurred as a result, first, of the defense program, and now of the war, in the light of the development of the area over the last half century. For the present discussion the Hampton Roads area is divided into two sub-areas: the south side which includes Norfolk City, Portsmouth City, South Norfolk City, Norfolk County, Princess Anne County, and the north side which includes Newport News City, Hampton City, Warwick County, Elizabeth City County, Williamsburg City, James City County, and York County, Virginia. The whole area is a center of military and naval activities, shipbuilding and repair, and a commercial center for southeastern Virginia. It is also an important port.

The first World War resulted in considerable expansion and transformation of the Hampton Roads area. The close of the war and the termination of contracts for the building of additional ships led to a dislocation of labor supply and local economy and caused some exodus from the area in the early twenties. Unfortunately, decennial census data do not permit the construction of a complete picture of population change during and after the first World War. Notwithstanding this fact, an examination of these data is of value in studying the present situation.

Population changes. The first background needed to appraise the present development is the population change over the last half century. Table 1 shows the population of the Hampton Roads area by color and then separately for the north and south sides, from 1890 to 1940. During this period the proportion of whites and colored has changed materially. In 1890 more than fifty per cent

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge gratefully the assistance of Mr. John A. Clausen, of the staff of the Population Study.

were colored. By 1940 colored people comprised one third of the total population. The population trends by color have been fairly similar on both sides of Hampton Roads.

TABLE I. POPULATION BY COLOR—HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA, 1890-1940

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Hampton Roads	122,605	183,220	226,478	327,594	314,370	361,129
White . . .	59,456	93,588	125,696	198,490	198,827	240,946
Colored . .	63,149	89,632	100,782	129,104	115,543	120,183
North side*	36,057	57,197	61,566	86,446	84,735	102,202
White . . .	16,580	30,829	35,163	53,453	54,926	69,375
Colored . .	19,477	26,368	26,403	32,993	29,809	32,827
South side†	86,548	126,023	164,912	241,148	229,635	258,927
White . . .	42,876	62,759	90,533	145,037	143,901	171,571
Colored . .	43,672	63,264	74,379	96,111	85,734	87,356

* North Side includes James City County, Williamsburg City, York County, Elizabeth City County, Hampton City, Warwick County, and Newport News City.

† South Side includes Norfolk County, Norfolk City, South Norfolk City, Portsmouth City, and Princess Anne County.

In this area, population changes which followed the Spanish-American War and World War I offer a basis for appraising current and prospective developments. Military operations have influenced the growth and development of this area considerably. During the decade from 1890 to 1900 the population on both sides of Hampton Roads grew rapidly. During the following decade, from 1900 to 1910, this rate of growth slowed down considerably. The population expanded again between 1910 and 1920, reflecting to a large extent the effect of World War I, and then declined somewhat by 1930. The absolute loss of population between 1920 and 1930 did not continue; a slow but substantial gain occurred during the thirties, prior to the development of the present war effort. The economic and social development of the area has been inextricably bound up with the war efforts of the Nation; with each has come a large and rapid expansion, followed by a decline and severe readjustment.

Sex ratios. An important demographic characteristic which reflects many other significant developments is the changing proportion of males in the population coming abruptly with each period of rapid expansion, and requiring from ten to twenty years to stabilize. Table 2 shows the changes in this respect from 1890 to 1940.

In 1890 the north side of Hampton Roads was growing and developing rapidly. At this time the sex ratio among the whites was 171 males to 100 females. This was an early period of expansion in the shipbuilding industry and other commercial enterprises in this area. By 1900, as the development stabilized to some extent, the sex ratio of the whites dropped to 148; it declined further to 132 by 1910. During the following decade of World War expansion it increased from 132 to 139. By 1930 the ratio had again dropped to 125. While 1940 figures for the white and colored groups are not yet available, the total sex ratio for the north-side area rose from 116 to 120 between 1930 and 1940. This increase undoubtedly reflects the substantial expansion of shipbuilding which had already reached an employment level of 10,200 in April 1940, as compared to an average level of 7,400 in 1937.

TABLE 2. SEX RATIOS BY COLOR—HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA, 1890-1940

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Hampton Roads	108.7	109.6	106.1	116.3	105.2	107.1
White	118.1	117.6	113.6	124.4	111.7	...
Colored	100.6	101.8	97.5	104.9	95.0	...
North side*	133.0	129.4	118.7	127.2	115.7	119.9
White	171.0	147.8	131.3	139.3	125.4	...
Colored	108.2	111.2	103.7	110.0	99.9	...
South side†	100.0	101.6	101.8	112.6	101.6	102.4
White	102.9	105.3	107.4	119.4	106.9	...
Colored	97.3	98.1	95.4	103.1	93.3	...

* Includes same areas as given in Table 1 footnotes.

† Includes same areas as given in Table 1 footnotes.

Changes since 1940. A vast increase in employment has occurred since the 1940 census was taken. The estimated peaks of employment which will be required for maximum production have been increased twice since the autumn of 1940. Such a rapid expansion of employment will rapidly increase the proportion of males. Similar changes have occurred in the south side of Hampton Roads although the south side did not develop as rapidly between 1940 and the early part of 1941 as did the north side. At present, however, the number of shipyard workers in the Norfolk-Portsmouth area exceeds the number in Newport News.

Since the middle of 1940 there has also been a vast increase in the number of military and naval personnel quartered in the Hampton Roads area. The number at present is several times the number located there in 1940. For obvious reasons the numbers involved will not be discussed here, but the increase has been large enough to create many new problems beyond those resulting from the large increase of workers engaged in war production. Among the military personnel are some married men who have brought their families into the area. A check is now under way to determine the exact number. For example, two of the important housing developments in the Norfolk area are now occupied entirely by families of men enlisted in the Navy. The increase in the number of both Army and Navy officers has increased the competition for available living quarters. In short, up to the present, military and industrial expansion has been too rapid for construction and other building to keep pace with it.

At present a further expansion is proposed within the next twelve months. This involves an increase of all production facilities and of military personnel so that with the completion of the first cycle of development a second phase is now beginning which promises to be as large as the preceding one. This, of course, multiplies the problems of housing and community facilities, which are necessary to enable both workers and military personnel to operate efficiently.

When sudden industrial expansion, involving principally males, occurs in a relatively small urban area, it disrupts in a relatively short time the established patterns of life. The great predominance of males has altered many phases of community life. Following the close of the war a considerable portion of the single males in industry will migrate elsewhere. The extent to which the military personnel depart of course depends upon our policy regarding the size and extent of our armed forces. In any case the prospects for the local community are uncertain and beyond its immediate control. This was the experience of Hampton Roads following the last war. The extent to which it will occur again will depend in large part upon such factors as the level of employment to be maintained in shipbuilding and repair after the war, the convertibility of part of the increased manufacturing facilities to peacetime production, the extent to which the single workers marry and remain in the area, the extent to which married men who have been obliged to leave their families in other places can bring them into the area, and the size of the military personnel permanently based there.

There are limiting factors to the expansion which can be achieved in this area within the period of the next two or three years. One of the most critical problems is water supply. It seems likely that sufficient water can be procured to supply the area, provided a balanced secondary expansion of population is held in abeyance. To obtain a sufficient quantity of water for a balanced population on the basis of the present increases is a matter which will require several years. As a result of these factors measures are being taken in the area to curtail the expansion of population. For example, to avoid the necessity of bringing more new people into the community merchants are employing the wives of shipyard workers and of some of the Army and Navy personnel already quartered in the area. Because of the limiting factors, such as the development of an adequate water supply, housing facilities, transportation systems, roads, schools, hospitals, and other facilities, a balanced population expansion for

the next three or four years is beyond any reasonable expectation or hope. In recognition of this situation, the proposed housing expansion consists principally of demountable units. This is a frank recognition of the fact that the immediate problems of housing, water supply, sanitation, and the like must be taken care of before attention can be given to the many other problems which center around education, public health, and welfare.

In the Hampton Roads area during the last half century there has been a gradual change in the ratio of persons per dwelling unit. In 1890 the average number of persons per dwelling was 5.8. By 1940, before the present war effort, the ratio of persons per dwelling unit had dropped to about four. During this same period there has been a corresponding decline in the size of families. The Hampton Roads area has assumed most of the demographic characteristics found in other large urban areas: a net reproduction rate considerably below the replacement level, a declining birth rate, and an aging population. It differs sharply from other large urban areas in that the sex ratio has consistently shown an excess of males for more than fifty years. While other boom cities, such as Akron, Ohio, have experienced similar phenomena for a time, the unbalanced sex ratio has not persisted. This is due at least in part to the fact that as soon as the area begins to stabilize in this respect, another boom or war comes.

The Negro population of the area has not had the wide fluctuations in sex ratios that has characterized the whites. The fluctuations in the sex ratios as shown in Table 2 are small as compared to the whites. Slower population growth, which in turn has been influenced by the kind of economic opportunities, probably accounts for the less dramatic changes among them.

Expansion in shipbuilding and other types of employment since 1940 is shown in Table 3. These figures provide a basis for determining the impact upon facilities of the area during the past year. With an increase of approximately the same magnitude scheduled in

shipbuilding for the current year, the problems of adjustment for the communities, as well as for the persons living there, will not diminish.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATES OF INCREASES IN EMPLOYMENT, FAMILIES, AND TOTAL PERSONS, HAMPTON ROADS AREA, VIRGINIA, 1940 TO FEBRUARY 1942

	<i>Increase in Workers</i>	<i>Increase in Families</i>	<i>Increase in Population</i>
Total area	66,400	22,000	103,500
Manufacturing	36,000	15,000	66,000
Trade and maintenance*	8,400	1,500	6,000
Construction	11,000	1,500	14,000
Civilian workers at			
military posts	8,000	3,300	13,000
Other workers	3,000	700	4,500
North side	20,400	7,000	35,000
Manufacturing	12,000	5,000	24,000
Trade and maintenance*	2,400	500	2,000
Construction	3,000	500	4,000
Civilian workers (military)	2,000	800	3,500
Other workers	1,000	200	1,500
South side	46,000	15,000	68,500
Manufacturing (ship-			
building)	24,000	10,000	42,000
Trade and maintenance*	6,000	1,000	4,000
Construction	8,000	1,000	10,000
Civilian workers (military)	6,000	2,500	9,500
Other workers	2,000	500	3,000

* It is assumed that the increase in trade and maintenance workers came in part from the area, and that 50 per cent of the new ones were the dependents of defense workers.

With the rapid expansion of military personnel there have been important increases of employment in shipbuilding, paralleled by a further increase in the number of workers engaged in trade, finance, service, and other employment. The data here include the changes reported in the number of workers covered by unemployment compensation and the civil-service employees in the navy

yard. Somewhat more elusive are the construction workers whose number has expanded and shrunk with the prosecution and completion of contracts. On the north side the estimated number of contract construction workers covered by unemployment compensation in the first quarter of 1940 was approximately 240. During the first quarter of 1941 the number was estimated at about 12,000. By the third quarter of 1941 the number dropped to about 3,000 with the completion of a number of the larger projects in the area. The figures as shown in Table 4 indicate the variations in the size of the construction labor force.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION WORKERS COVERED BY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR SELECTED QUARTERS, HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA, 1940-1941

	<i>First Quarter</i> 1940	<i>First Quarter</i> 1941	<i>Third Quarter</i> 1941
Total area	1,390	19,000	13,000
North side	240	12,000	3,000
South side	1,150	7,000	10,000

Source: Virginia Unemployment Compensation Commission. Figures adjusted to eliminate duplications and labor turnover.

These figures are based on reports provided by the Virginia Unemployment Compensation Commission. It has been necessary to adjust the figures reported since the quarterly reports include the total number of workers who were so engaged, whether for the total period or for only a small part of the quarter. Since the reports are tabulated by areas, workers can be reported more than once if they work for the same or different contractors whose jobs are proceeding in different parts of the area. Other factors difficult to appraise also affect the estimates. According to information provided by the Unemployment Compensation Commission early in 1940 the number of construction workers covered was small. At that time no large-scale construction contracts had been let, although there was a considerable amount of private building. Much of this work

was either subcontracted or done by contractors employing fewer than eight workers, and they did not come under the State unemployment compensation provisions. As large contracts were let, this situation changed rapidly, so that at the present time most construction workers are covered by the act. The data show the shifts in the number of construction workers from the first to the third quarter of 1941. A sharp decline occurred on the north side, while a substantial increase occurred on the south side.

A mobile group of construction workers, which varies in size from a few thousand to twenty thousand, complicates the problem of estimating the size of the civilian population. During the last eighteen months many people have lived in trailers. Others have doubled up and are living in crowded quarters. The scheduling of construction work in the area to make use of a larger semipermanent labor force which could be considered as a part of the permanent population would probably both facilitate production and make possible some better provision than now exists for housing construction workers. If construction employment could be stabilized, less would be required in the way of housing and other facilities. If the number is to fluctuate as it has, an increase of from 6,000 to 10,000 construction workers over the regular needs puts that much more of a burden on existing facilities. Pending the letting of new contracts current reports show that several thousand construction workers have left the area for other expanding defense areas. Within from thirty to sixty days the prospect is that several thousand additional construction workers will be needed in Hampton Roads. While careful scheduling of labor needs has been attempted, there is plenty of room for improvement.

Housing. During the past two years a large housing program has been completed. The approximate increases are shown in Table 5.

In this table we have also shown the proposed additional housing which, according to present information, will be built during 1942. Of this increase 17,500 are to be demountable houses, which can be

TABLE 5. DWELLING UNITS, HAMPTON ROADS AREA, 1940, 1942,
AND PROPOSED BY 1943

	<i>Total Area</i>	<i>North Side</i>	<i>South Side</i>
Total dwellings 4/1/40	93,815	24,390	69,425
Occupied as of 4/1/40	89,756	23,416	66,340
Increase to 2/1/42	15,179	5,935	9,244
Total 2/1/42	108,994	30,325	78,669
Per cent increase over 1940	16.2	24.3	13.3
Proposed increase*	25,006*	7,342*	17,664*
Expected total	134,000	37,667	96,333
Per cent increase over 1940	42.8	54.4	38.8

* As of February 15, 1942.

torn down when no longer needed. A comparison of new dwelling units as shown in Table 5 with the estimated increase in families in Table 3 indicates that the developments to date are behind the need.

The proposed increase in housing will only partially accommodate the anticipated increase in labor force. Plans are completed for procuring water to serve the area. An additional water supply is essential before the proposed expansion of employment can be realized. In addition to the dwellings planned, 3,500 dormitory units are scheduled to be built, and provision for an additional 750 trailers has been made. The proposed housing includes 5,750 dwellings to be built with private capital under Title VI of the FHA. Thus the housing facilities in the area will be increased by 23 per cent within another year. Further facilities will be needed to provide the minimum essential services. The plans do not include de luxe equipment. The population and housing increases show the tremendous impact of the present war on Hampton Roads. They make one pause to consider the kind of postwar readjustment possible.

Increased demands have been made upon the schools, but thus far there has been considerable lag in the increase in school enrollment as compared to the increases in employment. Increased school enrollments are to be expected in another year and demands on school

facilities will become increasingly acute thereafter. The same may be said for the other essential community facilities.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Estimates of the current and expected civilian population are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6. POPULATION AS OF 1940 AND ESTIMATES FOR 1942-1944,
HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA

<i>Population</i>	<i>Total Area</i>	<i>North Side</i>	<i>South Side</i>
4/1/40*	361,129	102,202	258,927
1/1/42	465,500	138,500	327,000
1/1/44	562,500	174,500	388,000

* Population as given in 1940 Federal census includes military personnel.

Estimates do *not* include increases in military personnel housed at the various army and naval establishments. Wherever military men and their families are living in dwellings off the reservation, they comprise a part of the increase. It has been impossible to date to procure exact data on this situation. In any case, it is but a small portion of the total increase. For obvious reasons the size of the military force in the area is omitted.

These represent our best guesses on the basis of information now available. They provide a basis for determining initially the housing, water supply, sewerage, utilities, transportation, and other community facilities, such as schools, hospitals, and recreation centers, which will be needed. The expansion under way at the present time is placing an increasing burden on the community. The rubber shortage may influence the sites chosen for new housing. These may be located as close to the plants as possible so that workers will be relatively independent of transportation facilities.

Up to the present the Army and Navy, in expansion of their own establishments, have taken care of the problem of housing the single enlisted men and a limited number of officers. In the military establishments on the north side, for the most part, separate water supplies have been built. The military authorities have coöperated with the local communities in the construction of roads, highways, and other facilities. Priority on all raw materials has thus far been per-

mitted for the expansion of housing, roads, water facilities, sewers, etc., since they are so essential to the production of war goods. Full recognition has been given to providing the facilities necessary to accommodate the workers who keep the shipyards going. Since this is less dramatic than the increase in the armed forces, though certainly of equal importance, the present paper has emphasized the importance of civilian development in the area. When production is jeopardized by high labor turnover, through crowded and congested living conditions, and such difficulties as water shortages, it would appear that the most important military matter at the present time is to see that the production facilities are maintained without interruption. The lessons of the war to date have indicated that more ships are not only essential but imperative. It is no understatement to insist that this war is being fought in the plants and factories and that attention to these problems surrounding an expanding labor force, engaged primarily in the production of military equipment, is of paramount importance. Production does not proceed as rapidly as it might when an employer is required to employ 10,000 men in order to get a crew of 3,000. There are a number of reports of this sort in the Hampton Roads area.

The estimates of the present population and the prospective population for the Hampton Roads area are based on the following considerations:

1. The increase in employment from 1940 to the present time and the scheduled increase to 1943
2. That approximately fifty per cent of the additional workers engaged in shipbuilding are married; that about one eighth to one sixth of the additional construction workers are married; and that a large portion of the increase in trade and finance and distribution is taken up by the wives of workers now in the area
3. That approximately one fifth of the new workers in the area plan to bring their families there as soon as possible.

These estimates show clearly what the magnitude of the problems has been and what it is likely to be within the next two years. It

would be helpful if a current sample census or a complete census could be taken in this area at the end of the present year. In spite of the fact that every effort has been made to be conservative and accurate in the development of population estimates, such estimates must be checked at some time against the situation as it actually exists. With the necessity for the expenditure of very substantial amounts of money for the development of industrial production and community facilities in the area, it would seem a wise expenditure to undertake a census, not on an elaborate scale but on a basis which would provide the minimum essential information needed to adjust future plans.

There is every reason to believe that the plans now proposed will not be adequate to meet the scheduled demand. Prudence would dictate that we ought to determine the status of affairs more precisely some time during this present year.

Lorin A. Thompson, Ph.D., Director of Population Study, Virginia State Planning Board, at Richmond, Virginia, was formerly Director of Research and Director, successively, of the Regional Department of Economic Security, Cincinnati, Ohio. His writings for the past several years have dealt with employment trends in relation to population and education.

THE SOLDIER TOWN

RAYMOND A. HOYER

Little did the citizenry of Tullahoma, Tennessee, realize what the future held in store for the community when the news arrived that Camp Forrest was to be built two miles north of the city limits. But when, almost overnight, 15,000 construction workers—some accompanied by families—sought living accommodations, this sleepy, conservative town of 4,200 suddenly found itself face to face with a puzzling series of unfamiliar, overpowering social problems. How this nightmare was ultimately lived through is a story in itself—a tale of community disorganization which shook the populace out of an evenly ordered existence and, one way or another, probably modified the lives of every man, woman, and child. Leading citizens agree that the Tullahoma they all loved so well has disappeared, never to return.

January 1941 saw the arrival of the first soldiers. Indeed, the latter began to arrive before the last construction workers had departed, and Tullahoma faced a new invasion; it had become a soldier town.

In order to understand the full impact of so many newcomers, a brief description of the larger community, affected by the presence of Camp Forrest, is necessary. This part of the State is known as Middle Tennessee. It covers a strip the breadth of the State, bounded on the west by an imaginary line passing north and south through Nashville and on the east by another line approximately one hundred miles east of Nashville where the mountains form a divide near Sewanee and Monteagle. Tullahoma is located seventy miles south-east of Nashville, and is one of a dozen small towns of less than ten thousand population, all of which are affected by the presence of the camp. The soldiers scatter over the entire area for week-end leave, thousands making the longer trip to Nashville, to Chattanooga—situated eighty-five miles to the southeast—and to Huntsville, Alabama, sixty-two miles to the south. But Tullahoma, because of its

proximity, necessarily bears the brunt of the load, not only on week ends and holidays but daily.

To any one who has never witnessed the phenomenon of—say conservatively—five thousand soldiers milling about the one business block of a small town, with practically no place to sit—indeed scarcely room to walk or even stand—no written description will adequately portray the picture. In Tullahoma one has the feeling of too little of everything except men in khaki of whom there are far too many for the resources they would like to use.

One of the things the citizens of Tullahoma have objected to most is the lack of privacy and the continual presence of so many strangers, most of whom appear to be spending their time going from house to house in search of nearly nonexistent lodging for incoming friends or relatives. And, indeed, there can be no doubt about the fact of inconvenience in every community habit, tradition, and ritual. Literally, the old familiar order has disappeared, leaving in its place a rapidly changing community still trying to accommodate a transient, mobile metropolitan population of more than forty thousand with the same social, business, and communal machinery that had been geared to satisfy the requirements of a stationary clientele of but one eighth that number. Tullahoma would seem to exemplify Ogburn's hypothesis of the cultural lag.

Today it is estimated that the civilian population of Tullahoma is in excess of ten thousand; some insist it is nearer twelve, but no one has any accurate idea because it fluctuates from day to day. For example, over the Mother's Day week end last May, it is probable that an additional ten thousand friends and relatives of soldiers arrived in Tullahoma, all expecting to find ample hotel accommodations, restaurant facilities, and transportation awaiting them. On that memorable occasion, visitors from Chicago were indignant when they discovered nothing vaguely resembling the Stevens Hotel. Memorial Day and the Fourth of July saw the arrival of other thousands who came by special train, bus, and private car only to

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find inadequate restaurant service and no sleeping accommodations at any price.

But even discounting such major migrations, almost daily the town receives hundreds of visitors. Many are relatives of soldiers, with a generous sprinkling of girl friends—nice girls for the most part, but unprepared either financially or by experience to take care of themselves under such abnormal conditions. The rate of mobility rivals that of the proverbial boom town of gold-rush days.

Since Camp Forrest provides no quarters for families, the wives of officers and enlisted men also constitute a continuing problem. The local ministers and peace justices report a "land office" matrimonial business, and of course each new wife expects to find a place to live. One justice even marries soldiers free of charge, although that concession would seem unnecessary. When one considers how many of these prospective brides arrive penniless and that the groom in many instances can provide nothing except his monthly pay of twenty-one dollars, it becomes apparent that economic crises are ever imminent. Of course, each new bride expects to find employment and some do, but high rents with practically no desirable vacancies at any price soon eat up small incomes in Tullahoma. If sickness or, as is more likely, pregnancy enters the picture, real suffering results which frankly the community is unprepared to handle.

Tullahoma has received unfavorable publicity because of alleged high prices. If there is any justification for this charge it is in the rental field. A comparison of prices charged in Tullahoma with the costs of food, clothing, and necessary accessory articles elsewhere shows little difference. But when it comes to rentals there seems to be a tendency to charge "all the traffic will bear." Certainly the rates charged before September 1940 have been at least doubled. In those distant days a furnished room averaged \$3.50 single, \$5.00 double per week. Today, a comfortable room costs from seven to ten dollars per week single and from ten to fifteen dollars double. The same

room will command from two to four dollars per person for one night, with a corresponding higher rate for two occupants. Houses and apartments are at a premium, with rentals at almost astronomical figures.

In discussing this problem with householders, justification is made on the ground that the trouble involved, especially where taking roomers is an accommodation rather than an economic necessity, calls for higher returns. In other cases the point is made that renovations and furniture were necessary and that this expense must be absorbed by higher rents. One woman admitted she is charging a lot more than she did formerly for the same accommodations, but she feels that since people apparently are willing to pay the higher price, and since, moreover, she has a friend who is receiving a higher rent for even less desirable accommodations, she herself is fully justified. A more likely explanation, however, is that the construction workers themselves set the higher rate by competitive bidding for the relatively few rooms that were available and these higher rates have held.

Another reason advanced is the inability to secure colored domestic help. Prior to the arrival of the construction workers, Negro help was both ample and cheap. Today, the colored worker is finding commercial employment at higher wages than he ever dreamed possible. Moreover, the colored population has also gone into the rooming business as an accommodation to the transient Negro workers employed in the vicinity. As a result, the white housewives are now forced to do their own housework, many for the first time in their lives.

This dearth of colored labor has affected the community in many ways. The retail establishments in particular are being hit hard because of the shortage just at a time when stores must be kept open longer hours in order to take care of a considerable volume of new business. Inability to hire salesgirls and waitresses locally has resulted in an influx of farm girls utterly lacking in experience, but

despite the inevitable headaches that accompany anything one attempts to do in Tullahoma these days, business in general is booming, and although no one will admit it many are making money.

Not only retail stores and restaurants but practically every type of business enterprise is sharing in the profits. When the camp announced the requirement of full insurance coverage for automobiles before they would be permitted to enter camp, the insurance agencies had to work day and night to take care of the hundreds of taxis and private cars which were all demanding immediate service. One local agency exhausted its supply of application forms so quickly that it was forced to type provisional ones until the home office could rush in a new supply.

The building trades also are enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Hundreds of new homes are being built while countless others are being remodeled. New stores have sprung up like mushrooms, with eating places, recreation parlors, skating rinks, and ten-cent emporiums leading the parade. The two small motion-picture houses have been so swamped with soldier patrons that outside capital recently erected a thoroughly modern theater of almost metropolitan proportions and equipment which seats 1,258. A half-dozen de luxe beer parlors enjoy a thriving business, while fruit stands, army-supply stores, men's furnishing shops, women's ready-to-wear establishments, and jewelry stores find difficulty in securing replacements, so rapid is their turnover of stock. The three major Cola producers have enjoyed a phenomenal growth of business and have built large, new bottling plants within the past nine months in order to take care of the increased demand for soft drinks.

Obviously, no community can absorb a greatly increased population without suffering certain basic dislocations. In Tullahoma, public utilities began to feel the strain almost from the start. The water supply, for instance, proved grossly inadequate, while the sewerage system soon presented a health hazard. The schools were similarly rendered inadequate so that by the summer of 1941 it was evident

that there was not going to be enough room to house the new enrollment in September. It is probable that Tullahoma received a larger total grant from the appropriation authorized by the Lanham bill than almost any other city in the country to expand the water supply, extend sewers, construct school additions, erect a hospital, and build recreation centers for soldiers.

Practically every normal community function has suffered disorganization to a greater or less degree. Traffic, police and fire protection, and the larger field of transportation suddenly faced problems of major proportions. The typical small-town railroad station proved ridiculously inadequate. The Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad bisects the town and the depot was so located as to close the two main cross streets whenever trains stopped. As a result, traffic tie-ups became a common occurrence. One of these streets, moreover, is the main highway leading to Camp Forrest which presented a problem of military importance. Finally, last summer the railroad solved this dilemma by moving the old station three blocks north and greatly enlarging the facilities, thus relieving congestion at the center of town, but arousing considerable indignation among the property owners in the new location which had always been a more exclusive residential neighborhood. Day and night, a continual stream of trains, both freight and passenger, add further to the strain of an overstimulated populace. A year ago, buses stopped in front of the corner drugstore. Today, the Union Bus Station occupies a new, modern terminal, while a second company uses a remodeled store for a depot.

The post office is doing a business many times greater than ever before in its history, necessitating longer hours of operation and a much increased personnel. Incidentally, the camp post office is also operated by the Tullahoma postmaster. A large, modern telephone building has replaced the one-room plant which up to two years ago apparently served the city satisfactorily, and a dial system has replaced the antiquated arrangement with its exasperating "crank-

ing" before and after each call. Soldiers like to talk to the folks back home, usually during the week-end leave period. No words can properly describe the "long distance" misery which plagued every one concerned before the new system was installed. With luck, one may now complete an outside call within an hour or two, or at worst the same day.

Any one unfamiliar with soldier towns like Tullahoma quite properly wonders how any community can readjust itself to so many catastrophic changes. Evidently, American communities, even such ultra-conservative ones as Tullahoma, possess ingenuity, flexibility, and resiliency which permit them to meet and solve almost overwhelming problems. Fortunately, Tullahoma possesses a mayor capable of meeting abnormal conditions with calmness and intelligence. A man with engineering and business training and experience, the mayor of Tullahoma has handed over most of his private business affairs to associates and now personally directs the affairs of his city on an almost full-time basis at little additional salary. He and his fellow city officials have worked closely and untiringly with camp authorities, Federal and State representatives, and the host of business and professional people who always flock to boom towns. All stories to the contrary notwithstanding, Tullahoma has met this perplexing series of staggering problems with wisdom and imagination.

Realizing that communities adjacent to military, naval, and defense industrial establishments would encounter just such complications, the Federal Security Agency more than a year ago through the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services was given the responsibility of rendering professional assistance at the local level. Experts in the fields of health, education, social protection, and recreation were assigned to affected areas to counsel all interested individuals and groups and to suggest ways in which perplexing problems due to the emergency might best be met. Since soldier morale is influenced by what happens outside as well as within camp, a Field

Recreation Representative was assigned to the Camp Forrest area with headquarters in Tullahoma in March 1941. His problem was to help the communities of Middle Tennessee make available to men in the service wholesome and interesting opportunities for recreation.

Since it was immediately obvious that thirty thousand men could never find recreational opportunities of a satisfying nature in Tullahoma alone, every center of population in this entire district was organized to contribute as much hospitality and entertainment as its resources and interest would permit. Defense Recreation Committees have been formed in one Alabama and fourteen Tennessee communities in which literally thousands of soldiers eagerly spend their week ends. In order to pool experience and work together coöperatively on the common problem, a Camp Forrest Area Committee was created last summer. This group meets at camp where plans are discussed with camp officials looking toward more effective service to men on leave.

While the programs offered in individual communities differ in detail, the broader outline is much the same regardless of locality. Just how this semirural area has contrived to offer a "home away from home" to the men of Camp Forrest is in itself a fascinating story. Home hospitality has been stressed; indeed, it is practically the only type of entertainment possible in this sparsely settled territory. Much of it stems from organized church effort, and let it be said that of all local groups the church probably has responded to the call with greater fervor than any other community institution.

In the towns, more sophisticated forms of recreation have been provided, including entertainment, dancing—folk, square, and social—mixed socials, athletics; in short, the kinds of activity boys of army age have always enjoyed back home. In each middle Tennessee town a soldiers' club or center has been opened where men in uniform may meet friends, read, write letters, listen to the radio, or just loaf. These clubs serve as information centers and are presided

over by trained WPA recreation leaders who assist local committees in arranging programs. To find conveniently located club quarters has not always been easy. Tennessee ingenuity, however, has found ways to overcome this difficulty. For example, Shelbyville has converted the railroad depot into a clubroom; in Columbia, the old post-office building offers very ample facilities; the Murfreesboro committee has taken over the Elks Club; in Winchester, the American Legion home serves as club quarters; and Lynchburg solved the problem by using the county courtroom over week ends. In the larger cities, of course, more elaborate quarters are available.

When, more than a year ago, it became known that the 33d, an all-Illinois National Guard Division, was to train at Camp Forrest, the Illinois Association of Y.M.C.A.'s collected funds to establish a soldiers' club in Tullahoma. This unit was opened on April 20, 1941, in a hall formerly used for local social events. Several months later, the Lutherans took over the Woman's Club building for a Service Center and the First Methodist Church renovated its rooms for soldier use. In September, the Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee erected a small club building. Soon after the birth of the USO, the Y.W.C.A. established quarters in an old homestead which has since been purchased by the Federal Government, remodeled and equipped to serve as a USO Club devoted to work for girls and women. About the same time, the Jewish Welfare Board rented a small downtown store which provided lounging facilities, and the National Catholic Community Service set up temporary quarters in the tiny local Catholic church.

But, all told, these facilities proved inadequate to take care of the thousands of men who flock into Tullahoma nightly and especially on week ends. Many more would have liked to come to town, but as one soldier put it, "It's just not worth the trouble to clean up after a hard day's work considering there's nothing to do in town after you get there." This lack of indoor facilities, however, was greatly relieved with the opening last month of two large rec-

recreation buildings erected with Federal funds and operated by the USO.

Considering the strain under which Tullahoma has been laboring, the response of its citizens to appeals to welcome the soldier and make his leisure time more pleasant has been sincere and, all things considered, even enthusiastic. Many homes have been opened and many a boy away from home for the first time has found friendships of a substantial character. In particular, home hospitality has been made available through the interest taken by the local churches. The pastors have welcomed the opportunity as one embodying practical Christian service and the congregations have responded well to the appeal. Sunday sees hundreds of men in uniform spending the day in the churches and in the homes of the members. Several ministers have made it their practice to write a note to the parents of the boys attending church, and the appreciative letters received in reply indicate to what extent this little act of courtesy has helped build morale back home.

The housing problem will probably continue to vex every one concerned. It became evident early that a central clearing house was imperative. In April such a room registry was opened by the Tullahoma Defense Recreation Committee with a WPA worker in charge. The latter has done an outstanding job of multiplying accommodations. On certain week ends, the task has seemed almost hopeless, but this tireless woman has kept at it, sometimes staying at her desk until midnight. No one will ever know where the thousands of parents coming for Mother's Day all slept, nor will the large number of people who doubled up, or slept on davenport themselves in order to provide additional accommodations, ever receive the thanks they deserve. This rooming service, incidentally, covers all the near-by communities to which visitors with cars are referred. Similar room registries under WPA direction are maintained by local recreation committees in every town of the area.

In many ways, Mother's Day reflected the sincere desire of Tulla-

homa and the surrounding towns to dispense true Tennessee hospitality. May is the month of beautiful flowers and when the mothers arrived at camp they found lovely bouquets on the tables in each company mess hall where visiting mothers and their soldier sons ate dinner together. The camp Service Club and Guest House were similarly decorated as were the regimental halls where religious services were held that Sunday morning. In fact, when the special trains from Chicago stopped in Nashville, thousands of gardenias were handed to the mothers by Boy Scouts with the compliments of the Retail Merchants Association of that city. Literally tons of flowers were required to decorate the more than two thousand tables alone. The idea, incidentally, was first suggested by the Tullahoma Rotary Club, but when the plan proved to be too large an order for one group or even one town, the entire area was asked to coöperate. Consequently, flowers were picked in thousands of home gardens in every community within a radius of forty miles, collected by school children, and brought to central points to be picked up by Army trucks and brought to camp. Here the soldiers themselves made up bouquets, and took care of the decorating. This simple expression of welcome probably sent many a mother home with the feeling that Tennessee people would be good to her son.

The soldiers in this man's army all have one wish, however, which has been impossible to fulfill. Every one of them wants to meet girls. Moreover, among the forms of recreation most popular is dancing, which of course calls for partners of the other sex. This problem is handled through a committee in each town which not only conducts dances locally, but brings girls into camp for dances in regimental halls and the Service Club. The dance committee in Tullahoma has probably set some sort of record. In the past twelve months this tireless group of women has provided girls in varying numbers for more than two hundred organized, supervised dances. The strain on the chairman of this committee has been so great that for the past six months she has been threatening to resign. But she and her co-

workers continue to carry this responsibility in spite of the many other civic and social obligations that Tullahomans are called upon to meet. Girls are also brought in from the other towns several times a week, but even after every eligible girl has been drafted the great majority of the thirty thousand men at camp never have the chance to meet a girl, much less to dance.

When the soldiers of Camp Forrest returned last October from the Louisiana maneuvers, they were accorded a welcome through a series of social activities, a high-school football game, and night fireworks. And although most of the men had been very glad to depart in August, upon their return ten weeks later, they appeared even happier when they detrained in Tullahoma and saw the gay decorations and large streamers bearing the words, "Welcome Home, Soldiers!"

No doubt Tullahoma, like countless other soldier towns, will continue to do its peculiar part in national defense; a morale-building job, if you please, which is helping create morale for soldier and civilian alike. When, following the war declaration in December, one unit after another quietly slipped away from camp, the people of Tullahoma realized in a very personal way that war is grim and terrible because they saw their recently adopted sons probably for the last time.

Yes, Tullahoma is doing its work well despite the attendant dislocation and is eagerly awaiting the arrival of the countless thousands of new selectees who will shortly come to Camp Forrest for training. Yes, Tullahoma has signed up as a soldiers' town for the duration.

Raymond A. Hoyer, B.S., A.M., is Field Recreation Representative for Tennessee and Northern Alabama, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Federal Security Agency. He has worked in social-settlement, Boys' Club, school-social centers, Council of Social Agencies, Public Welfare, and has done social-work teaching. In 1917-1919 he was associated with the War Camp Community Service under the auspices of War and Navy Commissions on Training Camp Activities. He is senior member, American Association of Social Workers.

PROVIDING COMMUNITY FACILITIES IN DEFENSE AREAS

JOSEPH LARocca

An American workman leaves one community and goes to another where his services are needed in a vital war industry. He leaves his friends, relatives, neighbors, and the security of his home community. "Tearing up roots" is a literally accurate description of this familiar upheaval.

While migration from one community to another has occurred in the past and during some periods of American history on a vast scale, until this present emergency we have not had so complete a national concerted effort to ensure the safe replanting of these roots as we find today. All three levels of government, local, State, and national, are participating in this effort. Local and national private agencies are also making a substantial contribution in this endeavor. One essential aspect of this effort is the provision of community facilities—schools, hospitals, sanitation works, health centers, recreation centers, and other facilities necessary for normal community life. This program is designed to maintain the health and well-being not only of workers in war industries and their families but also of members of the armed forces.

From the beginning of the defense program, it was evident that migration to centers of defense activity, both industrial and military, would result in an overtaxing of the facilities in the communities affected. It was apparent that unless remedied this situation would constitute a positive menace to the health and well-being not only of the new arrivals but to the community as a whole.

Recognizing this condition and recognizing further that the communities affected could not be expected to meet the problem entirely from their own resources, the Congress in June 1941 enacted Public Act No. 137, commonly known as the Community Facilities Act.

This Act enables the Federal Government to come to the aid of localities in providing schools, hospitals, health centers, recreation buildings, and other facilities necessary to health and welfare where the lack or inadequacy of such facilities would impede our war effort and where such facilities cannot be provided without the imposition of an excessive financial burden upon the community.

The administration of the Act is vested in the Federal Works Agency. Because of their immediate responsibility for the health and welfare of the Nation, the Federal Security Agency and the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, through their appropriate constituent units, determine and certify to the Federal Works Agency the need for community facilities in the fields of education, health, welfare and recreation.

EDUCATION

School administrators in hundreds of communities throughout the Nation during the past year have been faced with the problem of increasing school facilities to provide for the influx of thousands of children of school age who have arrived sometimes almost overnight. The meeting of this problem has called for the full utilization of all resources at their command. Where advance planning has not been possible, they have had to employ emergency measures, such as the use of corridors and halls for classroom purposes or conducting classes in shifts. Fortunately, in many communities it has been possible to anticipate the increased school enrollment and to make more satisfactory adjustments.

To assist communities in meeting the defense impact in so far as it relates to their school programs, the Office of Education, a constituent unit of the Federal Security Agency, maintains a staff of specialists in school administration who are available for consultation and advice. When it has been decided that a war industry will be established in a community and this development will necessitate the bringing in from other areas war workers and their families, this

information is immediately relayed by the representative of the United States Office of Education to the local and State school authorities concerned. An evaluation of the school resources in that community is then made to determine necessary measures for accommodating the likely influx of school population. Of necessity, the maximum utilization of existing facilities is given first consideration. This is accomplished in some instances by (a) the reassignment of pupils and the rearrangement of schedules, and (b) the transportation of pupils to schools in adjoining local school administrative units where such is possible within existing legal limitations and specifications.

If greater utilization of existing facilities will not accommodate the increased enrollment, provision is then made for (a) bringing into use buildings abandoned during the recent past because of reorganization programs; (b) renting, securing donation of, or improving quarters; (c) alterations to existing buildings; (d) additions to present plants; (e) construction of new buildings. Where the financial resources of the community affected are insufficient to meet the total cost of employing any of the above measures, financial aid is made available through the Community Facilities Act.

The school facilities for which provision is made under Public Act No. 137 include classrooms, general and special, auditoriums, gymnasiums, lunchrooms, and other facilities necessary to the carrying on of the various phases of the public-school instructional program. With respect to gymnasiums and auditoriums the use of these facilities by the war industrial workers and members of the armed forces for recreational and social purposes is given consideration. Funds are also available under this Act for maintenance and operation.

As of February 7, 1942, funds thus allocated to local school authorities for providing additional elementary- and secondary-school facilities amounted to \$35,000,000 in the form of outright grants and \$157,000 in loans. The 214 communities to which these grants

or loans were made advanced \$8,000,000. In addition, Federal grants for maintenance and operation totaled \$6,500,000.

In centers of war industries, school authorities are being called upon to an ever-increasing degree to extend the public-school program to provide care for children while the mothers are at work. The need for such services will become more acute during this year as several million more women are drawn into war industries. In anticipation of this situation, plans have been formulated whereby provision may be made under the Community Facilities Act for the extension of public-school services to provide before- and after-school care. Plans have also been formulated for the expenditure of some of the funds under Public Act No. 137 for the establishment of centers for the care of children of working mothers; the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor will work with local communities in establishing such programs where needed.

Public libraries, as well as schools, in areas of defense activity have found their facilities inadequate to serve the war workers and their families. The war workers are calling upon the libraries in ever-increasing numbers for technical and vocational books. While no provision has so far been made under the Community Facilities Act for the extension of library services, plans to this end are now being considered.

HEALTH

It is evident that a water supply of safe quality and sufficient quantity, a proper refuse disposal system, and adequate hospital and other health facilities are essential in the life of any community. Where existing facilities are overtaxed such as they have been in several hundred communities throughout the country during the past year, immediate steps must be taken to overcome the deficiencies. The procedures employed in helping communities provide health facilities are similar to the procedures followed in supplying school facilities. The United States Public Health Service, also a

constituent unit of the Federal Security Agency, has made its field staff available to local communities for consultation and advice. When it becomes known that a war industry or military cantonment will be established or expanded in a specific community, representatives of the United States Public Health Service confer with the local and State officials concerned and together they evaluate the adequacy of existing health facilities. If the community cannot through its own resources provide additional facilities necessary to accommodate the increased population, the United States Public Health Service recommends aid under the Community Facilities Act.

Grants or loans for health facilities have been made to 200 communities. As of February 7, 1942, funds allocated under Public Act No. 137 to these communities for providing new or additional hospitals and health centers amounted to approximately \$20,000,000 in grants and \$370,000 in loans. For these same facilities, the communities contributed a total of \$9,000,000. Federal grants for sanitation facilities (waterworks, refuse disposal, etc.) amounted to \$42,500,000; loans amounted to \$5,000,000. For these facilities, the communities advanced \$26,000,000.

RECREATION

Adequate recreation programs are essential for the health, welfare, and morale of the members of our armed forces and our total civilian population. Through its Recreation Section, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Service has taken and is continuing to take steps to ensure the provision of profitable and wholesome leisure-time activity in defense centers for members of the armed forces on leave, the war industrial worker and his family, and other members of the community. Proper recreational outlets are especially needed for young persons who have left home for the first time to accept jobs in war industries as many thousands have during the past year.

The field representatives of the Recreation Section encourage and

advise local officials in the development of a recreational program necessary to fit the needs of the community. Responsibility for the development of such programs rests with the local communities. Such financial aid as may be necessary to provide recreational facilities is made available under the Community Facilities Act. In recommending a grant of funds under Public Act No. 137, the Recreation Section considers:

1. The impact on the community of military personnel when on leave
2. The impact on industrial defense communities because of shifts in population and the effect of this impact as reflected in the recreational needs of women, children, and industrial workers
3. The ability of the individual community to meet defense recreation demands in the light of its financial resources, its facilities, and professional leadership

The type of recreation facilities recommended for approval for the individual locality is determined on the basis of the planned use of the facility for defense recreation purposes; the particular local requirements in the light of climatic conditions, etc.; the nature of other recreational resources available in the community to military or defense industrial personnel and the general value of the facility to the community. So far, recreational facilities in 209 communities have been provided under Public Act No. 137. The total cost of these facilities amounts to approximately \$17,000,000. Localities have contributed approximately \$80,000 in addition to many sites, and the Federal Government the balance.

SOCIAL PROTECTION

Through its Social Protection Section, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Service is working with local and State officials to meet the problem of social protection against prostitution and venereal disease in defense industrial areas and those adjacent to military reservations and naval establishments. The elimination of this threat to the health and well-being of our military and indus-

trial man power is of the utmost importance. The program adopted by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Service comprehends close coöperation between all levels in government and all public and private agencies functioning in the welfare field. It emphasizes the reduction of venereal disease through the repression of commercialized prostitution and the protection in particular of the girls and young women in the community against prostitution and related social hazards. The primary responsibility must rest with the local community concerned. Constructive treatment of girls and women through the utilization of all existing health, law enforcement, recreation, child protection, and other social agencies must receive primary emphasis in the program. In some instances it may be necessary to provide temporary care for young girls and women who have moved to centers of war industry or military activity in the quest of employment. Consideration is being given to the provision of necessary facilities under the Community Facilities Act, where provision cannot be made by the local communities.

By way of recapitulation, the health and welfare facilities for which provision has been made under the Community Facilities Act, the amounts involved, and the communities affected are:

Field	Number of Projects	Number of Communities Affected	Estimated Cost			
			Total	Local Contrib.	Fed. Grant	Fed. Loan
Schools	286	214	\$ 43,345,126	\$ 8,287,185	\$ 34,900,941	\$ 157,000
Hospitals and Health Centers	140	200	28,425,690	8,825,334	19,230,356	370,000
Sanitation	260		73,056,261	26,200,818	42,539,943	4,315,500
Recreation	250	209	16,761,832	78,500	16,683,332	0
Maintenance and Operation (primarily for schools)	287	95	6,321,460	0	6,321,460	0
Totals	1,223	718	\$167,910,369	\$43,391,837	\$119,676,032	\$4,842,500

The original amount authorized to be appropriated under Public Act No. 137 was \$150,000,000. Subsequently, the Congress appropriated an additional \$150,000,000. These funds will go far toward meeting the most urgent situations in communities directly affected by our war program.

Only through the continued close coöperation of all levels of government—local, State, and Federal—and the continued close coöperation of all welfare agencies, public and private, will we be able to meet the social problems resulting from the tremendous shifts in population that will come during this next year as our war program is intensified.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Education of Exceptional Children, by ARCH O. HECK. McGraw-Hill Series in Education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940, 536 pages.

This is an orthodox textbook on the education of exceptional children. It is comprehensive, dealing with the educational problems of all types of the atypical. The section on the education of the physically handicapped, for example, has chapters concerned not only with the crippled, the partially seeing and the blind, the hard of hearing and the deaf, but with children with lowered vitality, defective speech, cardiac insufficiency, and the like. There is, as well, a thorough discussion of the educational problems of backward and defective children and of superior and gifted children. Additional sections deal with the education of the socially handicapped child (with unusually comprehensive presentation of the programs of special schools) and with the problems of administering programs for the education of the exceptional. The volume is intended frankly as a text for courses in this field in teachers colleges and schools of education. It will appeal to instructors who like a text that is compactly written, packed with information, and topically organized. The student who has mastered this text should have little difficulty with certification examinations in this field.

On the other hand, instructors who prefer that the student's reading material should stimulate his imagination to original thinking and serve as a point of departure for thinking and discussion rather than should be a body of material to be mastered will find this book disappointing. Despite the fact that the author begins the book with the chapter entitled *The Field and Its Challenge*, and that scattered throughout the text are additional chapters presenting a challenge of one type or another, it is the reviewer's feeling that the book will present little challenge to students. There is little material on the mental hygiene, guidance, and vocational preparation of exceptional children. The material on prevention is sketchy. The bibliographies draw largely upon previously published books in this field rather than upon the more recent periodical literature.

Despite these deficiencies, however, the book gives perhaps as well rounded a picture of the education of exceptional children for the introductory student as any text now available.

Professional Education for Experienced Teachers, by KENNETH L. HEATON, WILLIAM G. CAMP, and PAUL B. DIEDERICH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, 142 pages.

Five years ago about sixty high-school teachers spent six summer weeks together in Columbus, Ohio, working on their common teaching problems as they themselves defined them. They had been brought together by the Commission on the Relation of School and College and the Commission on the Secondary Curriculum, both agencies of the Progressive Education Association. Out of that summer's work grew the workshop movement. In 1937 there was a larger workshop; in 1938 there were three, and since then the movement and the idea has expanded rapidly—too rapidly, perhaps. This book is an excellent effort to set out the principles and program of the workshop movement. The chapter headings give the scope of the book: Since 1936; Essential Characteristics of the Program; Organization and Administration; The Effectiveness of Workshops; The Significance of the Workshop Movement for Teacher Education. The book is recommended to all concerned with teacher education and should be on the "must" list of all not complacent about the *status quo*.

Reading Guide for Social Studies Teachers, by EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY. Washington, D. C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1941, 152 pages.

As part of its rather valuable series of services to teachers, the National Council for the Social Studies has issued this as one of its bulletins. Wesley has established ten categories: the social sciences, political science, economics, sociology, geography, American history, world history, social studies, education, and magazines. In each, he has sought the advice of his colleagues at the University of Minnesota, and, on that basis, secured the list from which he has selected the books for which he has furnished critical annotations. In each category he also lists the titles which he would recommend for a minimum library for teachers and suggests the additions he would recommend when expansion is desired. There are certain omissions which cause eyebrows to lift, but perhaps that had to be expected. If teachers will ever benefit from such gratuitous advice, the book will serve a useful function.

Workers Before and After Lenin: Fifty Years of Russian Labor, by MANYA GORDON. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1941, 524 pages.

Ever since its inception the "socialist experiment" in Russia has been the source of lively, even absorbing, interest throughout the world. This interest has been nourished by a never-ending stream of books, articles, and reports which has flowed from the presses. The subject as such has aroused fierce controversy. On the one hand, certain writers have unreservedly praised the achievements of Bolshevism, depicting Russia as the paradise of workers and deifying Lenin, the creator of the new order; on the other, many writers have been openly hostile to the experiment and therefore saw little good in anything that was transpiring in Russia. Few of the statements made by either side were founded on objective scholarship. It is, therefore, a rare treat to discover a work such as that of Miss Gordon. *Workers Before and After Lenin* is neither sensational nor dry. It is a skillfully sketched picture of conditions among the laboring classes in Russia from the 1890's to the present. Miss Gordon does not deny that Russian industry has expanded greatly since the Revolution of 1917; nevertheless, she concluded that the Bolshevik experiment has failed. Above all, it has failed to ameliorate the lot of the worker. In the words of the author: "The original purpose of the Bolshevik revolution—freedom and the welfare of the Russian masses—has been lost in the drive for quantity. Increased production has failed to mitigate the wretched poverty of the people. Industrial production more than doubled during the two Five-Year Plans, but there was no corresponding increase in wages or in the supply of commodities." At a time when good books on Russia are becoming scarce because the strict Soviet censorship makes it very difficult to obtain reliable statistics, Miss Gordon's book is a rare phenomenon.

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